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CHILD WELFARE AT THE CROSSROADS

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

Social Security Administration

● Children's Bureau

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In every community there are children in trouble. The trouble may be caused by parents' illness, death, inadequacy, ignorance, or neglect. It may be due to lack of good community resources and safeguards for all children. It may trace back to other factors detrimental to the development of emotional security and good social relations.

These children may be living in their own homes, in foster homes, or in institutions. They may be children of illegitimate birth, or children needing legal protection of their person or property.

These are the children for whom the child welfare services under the Social Security Act are maintained. This bulletin is directed to the professional workers who are working on or leading in the development of these services. We must depend on them to go ahead courageously and imaginatively in making these services available to our children.

Oscar R. Ewing

Federal Security Administrator.

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THE SCOPE AND RESPONSIBILITY OF PUBLIC CHILD WELFARE SERVICES*

MILDRED ARNOLD
Director, Social Service Division

Public child-welfare services should always be viewed in their proper setting. They should be related closely to the evolving concepts which are vitally affecting the welfare of people in this country. They should be regarded as an integral part of a whole network of services designed to give to every individual, living in a complex society, respect for his dignity and worth and confidence in his future that will make him a functioning member of society.

Changes in public welfare developments over the past 20 years have come with kaleidoscopic rapidity. But through all of them can be seen the slowly evolving concept of public responsibility for the general well-being of the population. This has evolved slowly because for such a long time government was thought of in negative terms. To many people it was simply a restraining element in society. To see it now as an instrument concerned with the well being of every individual and with an obligation for helping him function more effectively is a new and strange concept to many people. It is, nevertheless, a growing one. It is based on a belief in people, on the rights of individuals, and on a conviction of the worth of human beings.

This concern for the general welfare of the population has manifested itself mainly, however, in government assuming the responsibility for meeting basic economic needs of individuals and families. In looking back through the long reaches of our National history, we see that the greatest advance made in this area was the passage of the historic Social Security Act in 1935. This act, for the first time, placed long-time responsibility on the Federal Government to develop policies and programs and to insure more adequate financing to meet the economic needs of certain groups of people. The act is historic from another point of view, also. For the first time the *prevention* of need through a compulsory system of contributory insurance was emphasized.

There is a growing feeling, however, that the responsibility of government

*Based on speech given at the Connecticut Conference of Social Work, Hartford, Conn., November 4, 1948.

for the welfare of its people goes far beyond meeting economic needs. The complexity of present-day society not only brings certain economic risks but also greatly broadens the area of social interdependence. Government must, therefore, assume a larger role in meeting the social needs of people. If this responsibility of government is fully accepted, it changes the old concept of social services as limited to certain classes of people in society to the concept that social services are concerned with a broad range of human problems. Social services will no longer be identified with classes in society; the so-called dependent, neglected, defective, and delinquent. Instead, they will be identified with specific human problems. These problems are many and varied. They are no respecter of persons, of economic status, or of social rank.

Another concept that is gradually developing, one that inevitably will have a profound influence on public welfare services, is that there should be a national minimum in this country below which no one should fall in health, education, or social welfare.

A third important concept of significance to this field is that of universality of services. There is growing feeling that just as these services should not be identified with certain classes of people, so they should not be concentrated in certain areas. Since disaster may strike anywhere, since social services must deal with human problems wherever they are found, the services must, therefore, be universally available. England took a forward step in this direction when Parliament passed the monumental "Children Act", in June 1948. This act emphasizes giving every child the maximum opportunity for developing his powers and his personality for his own happiness and for the benefit of society. It makes services universally available. This country is still a long way from having a "Children Act," but legislation which has been introduced in the last two sessions of Congress carries some of this basic philosophy.

If the philosophy can be accepted that there is worth in every human being and that all individuals do not have an equal opportunity to develop their capacities, then the responsibility for providing the social service that will release the strengths and powers of the individuals for the social good must rest upon society. This concept points clearly to public responsibility for social services to all people who need such services and who can be helped by them. It emphasizes their preventive aspects. It recognizes that public responsibility for the individual comes early in the lives of people; sometimes at birth or even before birth.

If public resources are to be developed to meet the social needs of people, they should be universal in character and high in standards. They will be costly. The public agency providing these services must, therefore, be the instrument of the whole community and have behind it the potential resources of the whole community. The public agency is better able to provide a service which should be available to all citizens who may require it.

With these evolving concepts in the field of public welfare, what are the services which should be provided under a public child-welfare program? Child-

welfare services are social services directed primarily to helping children whose normal social resources have not been provided or have broken down. They attempt to help the child function more effectively in his relationships with his family and with other persons and to use society's resources more effectively for his welfare. To do the most good for the child and to prevent costly remedial work later, these services must be essentially preventive in character. If social services could be made available early, while children were still a part of their family and community groups, much could be saved in terms of emotionally disturbed children and costly substitute care.

Since society is based upon the family and welfare of individuals within the family group, social services for children must be deeply concerned with the maintenance of a sound family life. They must be able to offer competent help to people faced with the intricate problems of family relationships.

Public child-welfare services carry responsibility for understanding and dealing with the behavior problems of children. By having services available and accepted everywhere, by being able to get into situations involving children and their families early, the welfare department has its greatest opportunity for services of a truly preventive nature.

Government must stand ready to give protection and help to children who are neglected or abused by their parents or legal guardians. Protective services represent the community's, as well as the agency's, concern for the welfare of children. Since this protection should be available to all children who are abused or neglected, regardless of where they live, it becomes the rightful function of public services.

Many children have lost the care and protection of their parents through death, illness, incapacity, and for other reasons. This presents a serious problem of providing care for these children by persons who are legally responsible for them throughout childhood. There should be available in every community public social services to assist the court with guardianship as well as other children's cases. Guardianship of the person establishes the child in a substitute parental relationship and it is desirable to surround the proceeding with social safeguards and services.

Because the public welfare department represents the community in its concern for the well-being of the total population, it must be concerned with and take responsibility for the well-being of certain groups within the community. Among these are certain minority groups faced with particularly difficult circumstances and migrant families living under conditions especially harmful to family and child life.

There are other groups for which child-welfare services have a special concern—the child born out of wedlock and his mother, the child whose mother works, the children with physical and mental handicaps and, of course, those children whose homes are broken and who must receive substitute care in institutions or foster-family homes.

What are some of the factors which need to be considered if effective and

adequate social services are to be provided for children? The lifeblood of these services is case work. Case work is a method of providing social services to people. To be effective, it must be a skilled service. If public welfare departments of the future are to assume responsibility for difficult problems in society, then staffs must have more training in understanding and dealing with the problems of the individual and the effect which these problems have on his social relationships. Because other professions and agencies are also concerned with problems affecting the whole population, social workers must have a thorough understanding of community organization and the ways in which they can participate more effectively in community planning.

An expansion of public welfare services, such as has been discussed, makes necessary a philosophy that public service is a worth-while career, that it has dignity and status, and that it has an outstanding contribution to make to the welfare of this country.

Another important factor in providing these services is that if there is a real concern for the welfare of family groups and the relationship of the individual members to each other and to the community, then these services must be essentially local in character. They must be kept close to the families and to the children whom they serve. They must be kept close to the stream of community life.

There must be sufficient coverage of services in this country of such a quality that they become respected and accepted, so that people feel free to turn to them quickly and early. Only if this is true can situations be gotten into early enough to do effective work.

Public welfare departments must also have tools with which to work, such as health facilities, the mental hygiene clinic, and various types of facilities for the care of children outside of their own homes. Foster-care facilities are expensive to develop and maintain. In many States they are supported entirely by local funds. Hence they are often extremely inadequate or entirely lacking.

What about the setting for child-welfare services? It has been pointed out that these services must not be seen as something separate and apart. Since the passage of the Social Security Act, a network of public agencies has developed all over the country, providing public assistance in practically every local subdivision. With the growing public responsibility for helping to meet the social needs of people, public welfare departments should be equipped with the authority and the funds to provide services that go beyond meeting the economic needs of people. This undertaking must be a partnership of the Federal and State Governments. There is urgent need for legislation that will recognize the importance of public responsibility for social services to people and that will give these services an identity of their own; not tied to economic need, not limited by any consideration but the welfare of human beings.

Then, and only then, will there be an opportunity of developing a truly professional service for meeting the social needs of people and for making these services available to all.

THE CONTENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES FOR CHILDREN

ELIZABETH W. DEUEL

Director, Field Service Section, Social Service Division

Three years ago the National Commission on Children in Wartime wrote: "Today hundreds of thousands of children are living under conditions that deprive them of the opportunities and privileges contributing to good citizenship. These and thousands more will be subject to such conditions in the post-war period unless ways are found to meet the problems of children whose home conditions or individual difficulties or disabilities require special attention." [1]

It is with social services for these children that we are concerned here—the services for children who require special attention beyond that provided by their parents, day and Sunday school teachers, family physicians, and the normal contacts that touch the lives of all children. We will want to look at this subject from five angles, First: who are the children needing social services? Second: Whose responsibility is it to meet these needs? Third: What kind of services must be provided in the child's community? Fourth: How do State responsibilities mesh with local services in a complete program that reveals rather than conceals the social services for the individual child? Fifth: What does it take to get social services to children?

The Children Needing Services

People are inclined to think of children in two's or three's, as members of family groups. They often have little comprehension of the number and significance of children's problems in the total picture of

[1] "Building the Future for Children and Youth"; Next Steps Proposed by the National Commission on Children in Wartime, Children's Bureau Publication 310, 1945, p. 19.

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the lives of our people. Children make up nearly one-third of our population. More than 2,500,000 babies are born each year. In 1944 there were close to 42,000,000 children in the United States below 18 years of age.

Children of broken homes

Many of these children do not have homes to care for them because of the death, desertion, or separation of their parents. We know the tragedies of lives lost in the war, through preventable accidents, and from natural causes. We are constantly told of the number of divorces. Yet too often we do not realize that the lives of thousands of children are bound up with those tragedies. Countless numbers are left homeless by them.

Many more have homes too inadequate to meet their needs because of family break-down, neglect, or the inability of their parents to fulfill the normal responsibilities of parenthood. Through no fault of their own these children suffer because they have parents who are not equipped to meet their needs. The causes are many—mental limitations, emotional immaturity, mental illnesses—all adding up to deprivations for the child that we cannot permit to continue.

Some of these children don't wait for social agencies to recognize their needs and help them. They run away to escape the deprivations or abuse they receive at home. But children cannot find new homes for themselves or escape from their own unhappiness. Their bewilderment and despair are typified by the 10-year old run-away boy who was found hundreds of miles from his own home. He summed up his case by saying, "I stopped runnin' 'cause there ain't nothin' nowhere for me."

Other children strike out and vent their insecurity and fear upon others with whom they think they have a fighting chance. They are the children who are caught in the arms of the police which may not seem protecting arms to them.

The more fortunate of these tragic children of broken or breaking homes are the ones brought to social agencies for care and placement by parents, relatives, or other interested persons seeking professional help in finding a substitute home for the child before he is entirely homeless. In other cases the State must act as the public conscience to protect the child from moral or physical harm by removing him from his parents.

But many children today do not have this help. Many are in jails, in overcrowded, ill-equipped institutions, in unsupervised, unlicensed foster homes, or are stranded without any continuing form of shelter and subject to every kind of exploitation. We know, because we have

seen them. We have heard their cries. Or what is even worse, we have looked into their shocked silent faces of despair.

Children with handicaps

Then there are increasing numbers of children with individual difficulties and handicaps requiring special attention in their own homes. There is Joe, who isn't smart enough to understand the rules of football. He is just the "dummy" the other boys use in their tackle practice. Jane has diabetes and can't eat candy or drink "cokes" with the gang. She slinks unobtrusively in her seat and escapes the pain of her limitation in a world of her own day dreams.

These mentally and physically handicapped children are among those grossly in need of social services. They and their parents need the special help which will enable them to remain at home, make normal adjustments within their limitations, and secure satisfactions from their individual successes.

Then there are other children who are caught in the pressures of community life and social disorganization. Pressures of economic want, of social and racial discrimination often impinge upon the child who can neither understand nor oppose them.

Children in minority groups

Children of minority groups like all other children have varying degrees of ability and similar problems of family relationships and personal handicaps. They have the same needs and desires. To that extent they share with other children. But for them that is not all! They also bear the cross of prejudice and discrimination in every area of their lives—economic, health, education, recreation. We know these cultural forces bore deep within the individual personality; often to be expressed through feelings of inferiority, frustration, hostility, futility, and lack of self-respect and ambition. And then prejudice completes the vicious circle by claiming these traits are inherent to the group.

How many times have communities, and even social agencies, dismissed the desperate wants of a migrant Mexican family by saying, "They're Mexicans, they'll get along. They always have." Have they? You and I know better.

Children of unmarried mothers

Children born out of wedlock also have needs aggravated by social and legal limitations. Many of their mothers are scarcely more than

children and all of them are in need of help in planning for themselves and their babies. Helen was an unmarried mother 24 years of age who left the farm for the first time in her life to keep her family from knowing of her pregnancy. Not knowing what to do, she went through her unhappy, fearful experience without help from relatives or friends and unknown to any social agency. When the child-welfare worker visited her in the hospital after the birth of her baby, she heard for the first time of resources to help her. She looked unbelieving and said slowly, "I did not know anyone in the world could help me now."

Children with guardians

Less dramatic perhaps and less clearly recognized are the needs of children with regard to guardianship. The number under legal guardianship or in need of that protection is unknown. Without question their number is increasing and services to determine and meet their needs must be strengthened.

Who Is Responsible for Meeting Their Needs

Popular magazines, newspapers, radio programs, movies, our daily experience tell us of the needs of children. Yet the needs of all children are not being met in any State or locality in spite of the fact that we know the needs and their urgency. Our problem is to get the job done, which brings me to the second question: Whose responsibility is it to meet these needs?

There was a time when we could not have answered that question. There was a time when children had no rights and adult responsibility for them was at best inconsistent. The rights of women had to be established before the rights of children were explored. That day is past. The process was slow and costly in human suffering. But today we have firmly established the responsibility of the group for all people when individual responsibility fails. Our mores, our common law, our national and State constitutions, our State statutes define that responsibility and our courts uphold it. That collective responsibility expressed through government has become a significant part of all our lives.

Assuring necessary care and protection to all children is a major part of the State's inherent responsibility to safeguard the welfare of its citizens. Counties, townships, and municipalities are political subdivisions of the State and share through delegated power in this

responsibility. But the ultimate responsibility for the welfare of children rests with the State.

It is a public responsibility to be certain that necessary social services are available for all children in need of them, regardless of residence, economic status, race, religion, or any conditions of eligibility other than the need for service. Frequently we are too glib in saying every child is our concern. We must face the full meaning of that easy phrase. "Every child" means more than those already in our case loads, more than children of selected races and communities, and more than those with needs that fit the existing facilities for care. Every child in need means every child, regardless of his whereabouts, the nature of his problem, or individual and social prejudices.

The services must be available to children in the localities where they live. They must be known and accessible. They must stand out in the community as a flashing light of hope and opportunity that all can see.

If the public welfare program is State administered, there must be sufficient subunits strategically located to provide coverage on a State-wide basis. When programs are locally administered, the State must assure the operation of the basic child-welfare program in every locality. The rural child is just as important as the urban child and a greater responsibility for there are more rural children to serve in proportion to adults. Thirty-four percent of the farm population, but only 23 percent of urban population, are under 16 years of age. But the average family and per capita incomes are lower in rural than in urban areas. So we have a majority of our children having the benefit of only a minority of the resources of our country, including health, education, recreation, and social service.

However, the acceptance of public responsibility in either urban or rural areas does not mean that all services must be public. The opportunities for private child-welfare programs and the challenge to voluntary effort are apparent. The private agency has the right to define the area and scope of its service in accordance with established community needs. We must never impose limitations upon the experimental creative genius of private effort. Volunteer agencies can push the goals beyond present hopes. Their programs will extend beyond minimum requirements of social services and promote more adequate programs for all children.

Regardless, however, of the accident of strong or ineffective leadership in his community, the child must be assured minimum standards of service to meet his needs. We agree that the State is not obligated to provide all services nor to duplicate those adequately meeting the needs of children. But it is a public responsibility to see that social services cut across the whole population and reach all children needing them.

What Kind of Services Must Be Provided

What kind of services then, must be provided in the child's community? They can be classified into two broad groups. First, are the personal services directed toward helping to meet a child's need. Second, are the broad services which reach behind the existing problems to attack causes, prevent their recurrence for other children, and build strong communities.

Meeting children's needs

In direct services to children, case finding is a first step. We know that the most effective service is one that removes or relieves a difficulty before it develops into a serious problem. The case worker is apt to see only children whose needs have been acute enough to demand urgent action. Therefore, to secure earlier case finding the available social services must be known and understood by those who are in a position to recognize incipient problems. For the most part symptoms of difficulties appear in group relationships; so it is parents, teachers, group leaders, and other adults who see children in action who are most apt to see problems first. We must help them understand child-welfare programs so they will request service readily.

And we must open wide our doors so all children can come for our services. The minority groups have been cut off from the usual channels of community participation. They have had doors closed to them. Barbara wasn't helped when she had her baby out of wedlock even though she knew of social services. Why? She is a Negro. All the false concepts attributing differences that do not exist to minority groups closed the door of service to Barbara and her baby. People may know the service is there; we must help them use it. For them as for all children we must push our case finding to the earliest recognition of need.

Does child welfare include services to children in their own homes? Yes.

When? First, when the parents see the need for help as the child's problem, not theirs. Second, when the agency goes into a family for the protection of the child. In the latter case the agency expresses community responsibility for the rights of the child. The focus is the child—the total child as an individual in a family setting. The agency does not enter the family primarily because of the parents' behavior or needs; even though its service may help meet those needs and result in changed behavior.

Comprehensive social services for all people are not available. Therefore the public child-welfare agency is giving service in some

cases that may be appropriate to family service. As services for all people are provided, agency responsibility for these situations will be redefined.

What then are some of the situations that are included in social-service for children?

Case-work service for the child with special problems in his own home must direct all its strength toward keeping him in that home. Many children suffer from such handicaps as defective vision, deafness, speech difficulties, crippling conditions, mental retardation, or illness. They and their parents need help in understanding the limitation and securing necessary treatment and training. Other behavior problems that result from emotional factors less apparent but equally handicapping also need special attention that social services make possible. Often these conditions pose problems beyond the normal range of parental understanding and experience. They are baffling at all economic levels, in all races, in all locations. But skilled social services often make it possible to help the child in his family setting and prevent the added problems arising from placement.

Health services, education, recreation, all resources that can help diagnose and meet the child's needs, must be brought to bear upon the problem. Case-work service is the thread that weaves through the complicated strands of these programs and ties their strength into a pattern of unified service for the child and his family. Case-work service helps these individuals use the other resources and in turn helps the other programs see the total child in relation to his family. In this process the child-welfare worker may not work with the child exclusively; but she will keep him constantly in view and help others understand and accept him as a total personality.

If the child's problems arise not from his individual handicaps, but from pressures of family and community disorganization, his need may be met by strengthening the family or supplementing its efforts. For example, homemaker service may prevent placement or neglect of children because of the mother's illness or the absence of one or both parents. Counseling service may help a mother who is seeking employment. An exploration of possible ways of constructively meeting her needs in relation to her children and the family unit may make her employment unnecessary. If not, information about facilities for day care and guidance in using them will help relieve the unfavorable effect of the mother's absence upon the children.

When children are abused, exploited, or neglected to the extent that their welfare is jeopardized, service to protect them is required. The child-welfare agency must know how far the rights of parents to care for their children in their own way will be endorsed by the community. The worker as an agency representative must know whether the community will condone the Nelsons leaving two-year old Peter alone

all night; and whether the regular beatings that ill-fed, ill-clothed Bob gets are beyond accepted limits of parental discipline. In the protective situation, if social service is not already being provided, it must be initiated by the agency. And it must be sustained until the condition improves or the case is brought to court for adjudication.

Placement of children also makes up a large part of these personal services to meet identified needs. Children are placed in foster care for numerous reasons and in countless ways—some based on skill, some on chance. But we know all children in foster care need the help of skilled social service. The type of placement should be determined by current competent diagnosis of the child's needs. Fred may need only temporary care, pending his return to his own established and sustained home. The three Roberts children may share daily in their own family to at least a limited extent if their needs for placement can be met by day care.

Many other children must have substitute care for a longer period. For them interim or transitional placements may precede permanent placement. But the number of placements will be kept at a minimum if competent service is given and each step is made an integral part of the total placement plan. The social services must meet the needs of children in all kinds of foster settings. Emergency care is required for the child not known to a children's agency at the time he is placed. Such shelter care may result from sudden illness of the mother, extreme neglect, or lack of social services to help meet the child's needs in his own home.

It was an emergency for Loraine, the three-year old only child of parents of reasonably comfortable economic status. Her mother went to the hospital for delivery of her baby brother and she was placed in an advertised boarding home. The suddenness to Loraine of that placement, the unfeeling mechanical care she received, the displacement by her brother which she felt upon her return home confirmed her worst fears. The adequate food and physical care purchased for $12 a week were not enough for Loraine, nor for any child, regardless of the purchase price.

Paul was considerably older than Loraine. At thirteen he knew the ways of streets and alleys and had stayed away from home more than one night. But the detention care without any social service that he received, pending a court hearing, was none the less devastating to him. Even though children in detention care are under the jurisdiction of the court, social service should be available as for any child in foster care. Detention care can meet the legal requirements of protection and safekeeping and still be a constructive experience for the child. Case-work service is helpful, not only to the child but to the court and need not be confused with judicial authority and action.

Social services for children in foster care cannot be given if appropriate facilities for that care are not provided. The same facility cannot combine long-time and temporary care, or detention and temporary care. Each facility must be geared to meet the specific purposes of the placements it serves. Otherwise plans for treatment are confused and adjustments of children disrupted. Not too long ago I saw James who needed temporary convalescent care, staying in a detention home that provided security care for six other boys simultaneously. You can imagine something of what James went through those days. It was worse and more lasting in effect than the surgery he had undergone.

The facilities should include a variety of foster homes and group-care agencies to individualize the handicaps and problems of adjustment of each child. We must face realistically the fact that social services for children require these facilities. Every child-welfare worker knows placements cannot be made if foster homes and appropriate group-care programs are not available. How many of you have driven around at 5 o'clock, or 8, or 10, with a child looking for a place to put him? That is not what we mean by placement.

We cannot think the saturation point of foster homes has been reached when we have not put our best skills into home finding, allowed time for it, or explored fully the possibilities of paying for service of foster parents.

To establish and maintain group-care facilities, we must encourage careful selection of competent personnel, adequate remuneration, and suitable working conditions. But each kind of group-care facility need not be established in every locality. Some, like institutions for physically or mentally handicapped children, can be provided better on a State-wide or district basis. Others may be needed infrequently enough to make use of out-of-State facilities acceptable.

These foster-care programs must be financed adequately to assure the children security. The time and effort child-welfare workers have put into soliciting funds to support children even inadequately in foster care are evidence of the serious gaps that exist. A child who is placed with the promise that the Ladies' Aid or the fraternal club will pay board for 3 months has such doubtful security that one may well question if the placement should be made.

Broad Planning and Preventive Services

This brings us to the broad planning and preventive services which make up the second part of the services we must provide. Interest in community resources extends beyond the identified needs of children in their own homes or in foster care. The services which are specific in relation to individual children become broad and inclusive in relation to community planning.

Community patterns differ in organization of services and facilities, in agreements between agencies, and in established practices. Into that framework social services for children must fit. Their content cannot be determined in a vacuum, nor can they be detached from community developments, whether progressive or regressive. They must, however, be more than a part of the community stream. Those carrying responsibility for social services for children must participate actively in directing the course of the stream and harnessing its power in behalf of children.

The child-welfare agency sees the bad spots of social disorganization and knows the problems of children whose needs are not being met. In addition to the first hand knowledge of problem areas, the child-welfare worker as an agency representative brings an understanding of facilities and services needed to community planning. To do this she must establish effective relationships with a wide variety of agencies and individuals. She must be active in fostering leadership in group programs for children. She must help strengthen anything and everything that protects or meets the needs of children and families.

But before it appears that the child-welfare worker has the entire job to do, let us remind ourselves of some of the things she does not do. She does not take on the job of the recreational leader, the school teacher, the public-health nurse, or the judge. She does not undertake group-work methods, psychiatric techniques, or psychological services in the course of her social case work. She does not conduct the community fund raising campaign. She does not operate the group-care facility or become the foster mother regardless of the need. The core of the child-welfare worker's job is individual services to children, but she participates actively in community planning through her knowledge of children's needs and appropriate ways to meet them. She makes certain that children without votes, without organizations, without comprehension of what they need or why they need it, are not forgotten.

Interpretation of children's needs and social services for them is a constant part of the child-welfare worker's life. Every contact she makes, even the simplest, is a kind of interpretation. When she asks directions to a foster home on the country road, speaks before the State judges' association, or answers formal questions from the citizens' investigating committee, she inevitably conveys some sense of the content and methods of child-welfare work. You and I who have tried to tell the story of social services to children know how difficult and how vital that responsibility is. We know how the plan for a child's life or boarding home funds for many children may rest upon a single awakened conscience, or a glimpse of what can be done for children.

The coordination of social services for children with programs of other agencies is basic to serving the total child. Specific and broad

services for children rest upon interagency cooperation. Effectiveness of services to children mounts in geometric proportions when efforts are coordinated. The child-welfare worker has a primary responsibility in this coordination, because it is her job to keep children's rights in view. She knows the losses to children that result from lack of coordinated programs. She knows too that children's problems are solved only when the focus is kept on the child.

How State Responsibilities Mesh with Local Services

As we look at the variety and complexity of these services that must be provided in the child's community, we cannot but feel a keen sense of obligation to the child-welfare worker who takes on this job. With an awareness of that obligation, let us look at the fourth question. How do State responsibilities mesh with local services in a complete program that reveals, rather than conceals, the social services for the individual child?

If the program is State administered, the State should provide all the services already discussed in addition to those peculiar to its position. In a locally administered program the State may provide facilities or services that cannot be carried by local units. Examples of these include specialized institutional programs for physically or mentally handicapped children, technical psychiatric and psychological services, or special group-work consultation.

Licensing and supervision of children's agencies

In the role of leader and protector the State should have responsibility for both the licensing and supervision of children's agencies, institutions, and foster homes. Both minimum standards and desirable goals should be established. State service should extend beyond routine inspection to supervision as an educational process. Constructive State services should help improve standards and foster dynamic relationships between agencies and with all communities.

For those agencies that do not meet minimum standards courageous service is required in helping the agency achieve that minimum or discontinue its program. The perpetual provisional licenses for substandard agencies do not fulfill the responsibility to protect children. In the establishment of new agencies, State responsibility ideally includes, first, determination of the need for the facility; second, passing upon the application for incorporation; and third, help in coordinating the new program with the existing pattern of facilities and services.

The State may delegate responsibility to local child-placing agencies

for studying and recommending foster homes for licenses. However, the ultimate responsibility still remains with the State.

Interstate placement and adoption

State service extends beyond the focus upon the foster-care facility to specific interest in the protection of the individual child in at least two kinds of placements; namely, interstate placements and adoptions.

Interstate placements are a concern of the State department that licenses the child-placing agency and to the State department in the State where the child is placed. The interest of both States should be in the protection of the child and not in security bonds or legal penalties that may be imposed for nonconformity to laws and regulations. Unplanned, unsupervised long-distance placements too often have been among the cases requiring emergency care.

That was true for Lois, whose unhappy mother gave her to a well-dressed stranger in the railroad station when she was 3 weeks old. The stranger was on her way to another State to visit a friend who had always wanted a baby girl. It was as casual as that until Lois arrived at the new home. Just 1 month later neighbors reported the serious neglect of Lois who had to be rushed to the hospital to save her life.

The State welfare department should also assure representation of the child's interest in every case of adoption. That assurance is a minimum protection for the child who is getting a new set of parents.

Setting and maintaining standards

Another responsibility of the State is setting and maintaining standards of social services to children. This requires providing specialized consultant service or supervision for all local public agencies on a regular continuous basis. The general child-welfare consultants help improve the quality of casework services, stimulate effective community planning, and make available State and other facilities for the care and treatment of children. Consultant service from other specialists on the State staff should also be available to local agencies in accordance with good administrative practices. These experts will include the child-welfare consultants working in special areas, such as on adoptions or institutional programs. They also include other specialists as the group-work consultant, the psychologist, legal adviser, nutritionist, research expert, and others.

Staff development

The State also has responsibility for staff development. It must keep up with developments in the growing professional content of

social services to children and help practitioners in the field achieve and maintain competence. All staff members, and especially the isolated rural workers, must have professional stimulation and the opportunity to refresh themselves if they are to grow and give their best service. That professional development does not come by chance. It results from a planned continuous program of staff development. This must embrace all staff members and for professional staff it must include the full sequence of orientation in the agency, graduate training, and continued training within the agency upon return from school.

I know many of you are thinking we have to get staff before we can train them. How true that is! The State has a role in that, too. Recruitment of staff requires imagination and forthright action. We need to dip deep into colleges and high schools to tell about careers in child welfare. Young child-welfare workers with some glamour are probably the best recruiters, just as foster parents are the best source of new foster homes.

Adequate salaries are necessary, but money is not enough to attract competent people. Professional persons want to work in progressive agencies that offer adequate supervision, reasonably secure tenure, and a chance to make a contribution. Many agencies don't pass the test. The candidates for positions select the ones that do.

The State must also give leadership in spreading and making the most effective use of available personnel. We cannot afford to let talents lie idle. But we are doing just that, even as we cry for personnel. What about the well-trained and experienced social workers of minority groups? With courage, imagination, and conviction, we must employ them and prove our concern for children.

Areas cannot be left uncovered or workers stranded without supervision or consultant service. All the genius of administration must be directed to preventing that collapse of program.

Promoting basic legislation

The State has responsibility for promoting appropriate legislation and defining basic requirements for the care and protection of children. If legal responsibilities for licensing are not established or not covered adequately, the State department must speak out for this necessary protection. The same is true for laws related to adoptions, guardianship, interstate placements, juvenile courts, and all areas of child life. This responsibility extends to securing adequate financial support and clarifying administrative difficulties that require legislative action.

Interpreting social service

Interpretation of the pace of social services and of children's needs is as perpetual a responsibility with the State as with each local agency. We cannot tell the story too often. We must stimulate active interest and increase understanding among our people if we are to secure broad citizenship participation in public programs for children.

Research and reporting are also basic to the State's function of planning and interpreting its program. The State department must promote effective relationships within the total public-welfare program. Integration of related programs within one agency can be achieved without loss to any program if the differentiating elements of each are clearly defined and protected. However, we cannot have services to children unless the special functions, knowledge, understanding, and skills of the child-welfare field are sustained in practice. Nor can we separate child welfare from the total welfare program of which it is a component part.

Setting standards and developing comprehensive social services for children also require close cooperation and sharing with related organizations. Education, health, recreation, and mental health have expanding programs with which child welfare must be closely and continuously related.

In summary, the State must provide leadership to all social services for children. It sets standards, channels the best of experience and understanding from all directions to the child-welfare practitioners, assists in financing services and facilities, and makes certain every child in need is reached.

What It Takes to Get Social Services to Children

What then does it take to get social services to children? This fifth and last point reminds me of the parable of the grasshopper and the ant. It seems the grasshopper had not emulated the provident ant. Come winter he turned to his farsighted friend for a loan of food. The ant suggested he turn himself into a cockroach and live in a rich man's kitchen for the winter. The grasshopper started off with delight, then paused, and called back to the ant, "That's a good idea, but how do I do it?" The ant with great majesty replied, "I've given you the broad outline. It's up to you to fill in the details."

How do you and I fill in the details? As case workers, supervisors, consultants, directors, board members, we must reach out to children. We must spell out our convictions without hesitation or apology.

Often when a child needs help, the first reaction is to doubt if the service comes within our agency responsibility or function. Let us stop holding back and reach out to serve.

What does it take to serve children in this way? We know it takes special skill and understanding. There are different methods of communicating with children and understanding their feelings which they rarely express verbally. There are special skills in helping without being asked to do so and in carrying the weight of responsibility for what happens to children. The complications of the three-way relationship of child, parents, and foster parents are not directed without skill. To those we must add the ramifications of supporting resources and community experiences for the child.

To understand the child who has a problem the worker must know what is normal development for children of different ages and experiences. Why do adolescents run away to seek recreation in another town or neighborhood when they have a teen-age center close at hand? Why does an infant suddenly seem afraid of the same persons to whom he responded happily a short time ago? Why does Jack know everyone at school and his brother practically no one?

Then there is that scientific body of knowledge about children who have special problems. What are the pressures of group living for the child in an institution? Can Alfred take on a new mother? Why does Mary dislike the foster home that has all the things she wanted? Why do parents who abuse their children insist upon keeping them? The questions are endless. The basic knowledge and understanding of the child-welfare worker must be broad and deep.

She must know about communities which are as individual and complicated as children, about government with its imposing realities, about all kinds of agencies and their programs. Why can't she place John in a Boy Scout troop as she does in a foster home? What can the advisory committee do that is genuine and sound? How can latent community interest be made to work for children? You and I don't need to be persuaded about the knowledge and skill this job takes, or the urgency of getting trained staff. Neither do we need to be sold on the need for appropriate legislation, adequate financing, and sound administrative practices and relationships. Those are the things it takes to raise these services for all children to the standard that has been achieved for some.

What are we waiting for? We know what should be done. We know who must do it! We have the know-how. Let us move forward until social services for all of our children become a reality.

The Juvenile Court and the Public Welfare Agency in the Child Welfare Program

ALICE SCOTT NUTT

Director of Special Services, Social Service Division

The Past is Prologue

Only as we understand the past can we build for the future. This is as true for social institutions as it is for political and economic institutions. A brief sketch of the outlines of a comprehensive child-welfare program, and of the evolution of the juvenile court and the public welfare agency, is the backdrop against which all discussion of the relation and responsibilities of the court and the agency must move.

The Concept Underlying Child Welfare Services

Ideally, in a democratic system, the needs of children are met first by their families, then by the community through resources and services furnished for all children. Some children need care or special services beyond those which their families can give or the community can provide. Although living in their own homes they may require guidance for themselves and their families, if problems of behavior or neglect or unwholesome conditions are not to force them into serious delinquency or other maladjustment. They may need treatment or special services because of physical, mental, or personality difficulties or handicaps; some of them may require care outside of their own homes.

To reach children promptly and effectively, services must be furnished either in the communities where children live or at points where they are reasonably accessible. They should be available to all agencies whose work

deals directly with delinquency, dependency, and neglect and likewise to agencies and programs that offer easy and natural opportunities for recognizing and dealing with certain behavior and situations before they become critical.

Similarly, an adequate child-welfare program must include provision for care of children outside of their own homes, either in foster-family homes or in institutions. It may be temporary care pending court action or shelter during a family emergency, or care pending study and observation; or it may be placement pending study and observation; or it may be placement on a more-or-less permanent basis.

A child-welfare program is not complete without child-guidance service for the study and treatment of children with special problems of personality and behavior; without group work and recreational programs that afford children opportunity to develop as social beings, or without comprehensive community programs, both institutional and other, for the care and training of the mentally defective.

In any program of social services for children adequate community resources are fundamental. These include sound programs of public assistance, health service, and medical care, as well as other programs designed to conserve family life and to maintain wholesome community conditions.

Few if any communities have a child-welfare program of this breadth and with all of these elements. The degree of development varies from place to place. Treatment services and facilities in many places are inadequate or unevenly distributed. Sometimes they are entirely lacking. One type of service, for example, case-work treatment for children in their own homes, may be less available than another service, such as foster-home placement. Repeatedly we have said that the causes of children's problems are multiple and interrelated. If we really believe this, we must be constantly exploring the nature and extent of chidren's needs, evaluating the resources for meeting them, and discovering the gaps in resources. We must chart a program of varied resources and services that complement and supplement each other.

Basic Principle of Juvenile Court Law

In all the States, territories, and the District of Columbia, legislation now provides either for separate juvenile courts, or for specialized jurisdiction and procedure in children's cases in existing courts. Some variation in the type of jurisdiction and procedure exists but one principle underlies all our juvenile court laws. It is that a child under the jurisdiction of the court is a ward of the State, subject to its discipline and entitled to its protection; the State may intervene to safeguard him from neglect or injury and to enforce legal obligations due him; and the attention of the court is directed primarily toward understanding and meeting the child's needs.

Although the first juvenile court law was not passed until 1899, this prin-

ciple has roots deep in the past. It derives from two sources in the English common law: first, the jurisdiction of the courts of equity or chancery exercised to protect those unable to care for themselves; and second, extension of the common law rule that children under seven years of age are incapable of committing crime.

The Court Takes on Administrative Responsibilities

Undoubtedly the founders of the first juvenile courts did not foresee their development as children's agencies responsible for a variety of administrative and treatment, as well as judicial functions. The new court had to develop procedures suitable to the objective of helping and protecting, rather than punishing the child. Because community resources for the study and treatment of children's problems were either lacking or inadequate, it had to go further. It had to set up, itself, or to sponsor the development of, services and resources such as case-work service, detention care, and clinical service.

Shortly after the first juvenile courts were established, measures were enacted which provided care of children in their own homes at public expense. These required social services for their effective administration. As the only public agencies directly responsible for the protection and care of dependent children, and because they already had their own social services, the juvenile courts were called upon to administer these new measures.

Lack of resources was a major factor also in the juvenile court's assumption of other responsibilities. Sharply aware of both the community conditions prejudicial to the well-being of children and the limited resources for meeting their needs, looked to by the community as the agency responsible for all children needing care, protection, and treatment, the court extended its activities—activities varying from making social adjustments in cases of undesirable behavior and of neglect when the need is not for judicial action but for case-work service and placing children in foster family homes to giving leadership in organizing the community for the prevention of juvenile delinquency and even in some instances for broader aspects of child welfare.

But even though the juvenile court now carries on many administrative and social activities, its essential characteristics—in function, structure, and procedure—are those of a judicial agency. Its legal responsibility with respect to children, and to adults who have obligations toward them, is established specifically by law in terms of the behavior or the conditions which bring individual adults and children within its jurisdiction. It has authority and power to make far-reaching decisions in regard to the legal status of a child. It can terminate or suspend parental rights when the interests of the child or the community require it. It can enforce obligations to and from individuals.

The way in which individuals come to the attention of the juvenile court

differs markedly from the way in which social agencies receive their clients. Seldom do they come to the court voluntarily. Certain procedures must be followed which, although socialized, are *still* court procedures. The relationship of the head of the court to individuals dealt with differs markedly from that of the head of the administrative agency. The judge not only directs a staff working with individuals in a treatment capacity, but himself deals directly with those individuals in a judicial capacity.

Public Provisions for Child Welfare

Social services for children under private auspices made a vital contribution to the young juvenile court. They have continued to cooperate with the court in attempts to deal with children in the light of their individual needs and special problems. Especially significant is their development and refinement of special skills and techniques for prevention and treatment.

The major trend in social services for children during recent years has, however, been the development of the public-welfare agency. Although the creation of this agency came much later than that of the juvenile court, the concept was not new. Even before the first juvenile-court law was passed, a few States had enacted legislation authorizing care of dependent and neglected children in county children's homes or State schools for dependent children, or through lay boards of children's guardians. By 1932, 12 States had permissive or mandatory legislation authorizing counties to create local welfare agencies with broad responsibilities for children. A few New England States had authorized such agencies on a town or city basis.

The enactment of the Social Security Act in 1935, made possible the development of public child-welfare services in every State. This act authorized Federal funds for public assistance to various groups of dependent persons including children and for assistance to State public-welfare agencies "in establishing, extending and strengthening, especially in predominantly rural areas, public welfare services for the protection and care of homeless, dependent, and neglected children, and children in danger of becoming delinquent." Now every State and territory and the District of Columbia has recognized in law its responsibility for the welfare and protection of children. Each has established a State public welfare agency, or a separate division or bureau of welfare in some other State department, to carry out welfare functions, including those of child welfare. At least half the States have county welfare agencies, most of which have broad responsibilities for services to dependent, neglected, or handicapped children.

As we looked for the essential characteristics of the juvenile court, so we can seek out the major features of the public welfare agency. Its legal responsibility for children is generally described in a broad statement of duties authorizing it to administer child-welfare activities, to promote the enforcement of laws for the protecton of specified groups of children, or to take the

initiative in matters involving the interests of children. It cannot impose obligations upon individuals or enforce orders. It cannot exercise the rights of parents or guardians with respect to children unless these are given to it under legal procedure. Its authority, if that term should be used, is inherent in the professional knowledge and skills of its staff. Its legal responsibility and structure are such that it can use this knowledge and these skills to develop, extend, and strengthen social services to individual children and to conserve and strengthen family life through adequate programs of assistance, implemented by social services for working out special problems. It can do this by making basic social services available to children within its own organization; by making such services available to other community agencies; and by stimulating the development of services in appropriate public and private agencies in the community.

To Each Its Own Function

We come now to consideration of the respective roles of the juvenile court and public welfare agency in a child-welfare program of the dimensions we have described. Let us proceed on the premise that every social institution has a specific function which it is peculiarly fitted to perform, and areas within which it can operate most effectively. Acceptance of the limitations imposed by the recognition of these functions and areas makes for effective operation and furnishes the basis for cooperative relationships between agencies. Let us think in terms of what is appropriate to the legal base and organizational structure of the court and the agency rather than of what they are now doing or equipped to do. Let us recognize that some courts are performing many functions, judicial and nonjudicial, while others are operating within a limited area and according to clearly defined policies of relationships with other agencies. Let us recognize also that some courts are poorly staffed and ill equipped whereas other courts have personnel and facilities that bear comparison with the best social agencies. Let us admit that although some public welfare agencies have accepted broad responsibility for the care and protection of children, others have confined their activities to very specific programs, for example, to foster care of dependent and neglected children. Let us recognize also that Federal, State, and local funds are as yet inadequate to provide services to the extent needed. Let us admit that lack of trained personnel especially during the war years with their great demands upon the social work field, has held back the development of programs both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Having faced all of these facts we continue to look for the intrinsic quality, or nature, of the juvenile court and of the public welfare agency. When we are clear as to the objective and function of a social institution, be it court or social agency, the steps necessary to ensure adequate equipment and effective operation are more easily achieved.

We see the juvenile court exercising functions primarily judicial and law enforcement in nature. These include making decisions affecting the legal status of a child, as in guardianship, adoption, and granting of custody; decisions in controversies regarding custody, and decisions affecting or intervening in parental rights when the child's behavior, or the conditions or circumstances under which he lives appear to be such that organized society as represented by the court has to step in.

We see the public-welfare agency exercising functions primarily administrative in nature. This means providing social services for children who, by reason of personality problems or the circumstances under which they live, need help in order to develop into well-adjusted adults. Specifically, it includes making social studies, planning for the care of children, and carrying on treatment; placing children in foster-family care and for adoption; developing resources for care and treatment; administering group-care facilities; and furnishing leadership in community organization for child welfare.

New Alignments for the Future

Acceptance of these definitions of the functions of the juvenile court and the public welfare agency has implications for the future development of each and for their relationship to each other.

Better understanding of all responsibilities of the court and public welfare agency would be reflected in the types of cases with which each would deal and in the nature of their responsibility in certain of these.

Frequently there has been confusion on the part of social agencies regarding the role of the court. Occasionally an agency unable to achieve results by case-work methods may feel that the court should order the family to do what the agency thinks it should do. Sometimes an agency fails to understand what constitutes a basis for court action. The agency may not understand why the court refuses to take cognizance of a situation in which the agency believes there is flagrant neglect, while the court, may consider that the agency is failing to present the evidence necessary to justify action.

Both the nature and use of evidence, and the responsibility of the court for acting in a judicial capacity, in the light of the facts presented and with concern for the rights of all involved, must be clearly understood. Court and agency need to get together to prevent such misunderstandings. Each has a specific responsibility: The court to review objectively and impartially situations involving questions of custody and of controversy and safeguard equally the rights of the community, the agency and the individual; the agency to render specialized and professional service in its field and make this service available to the court as one of the resources of the community. The court cannot merely confirm plans made by the agency and order them carried out; the agency cannot merely carry out the orders and instructions of the court nor be directed by the court in its case work with specific individuals. Each

performs a specific function and renders the service appropriate to this function.

Dependent children, the responsibility of the public welfare agency

Responsibility for the care of dependent children needs to be considered in the light of our definition of functions. Most State laws give the juvenile court jurisdiction in cases of dependent children and authorize it to place orders on local public funds for their care outside of their own homes. Under such provisions children are referred to court for commitment to public welfare agencies, as well as to private agencies, even when no question of change of custody or guardianship is involved. This procedure dates back to the time when the court was the only public agency caring for children and had to pass upon the expenditure of public funds. But the public welfare department is also a public agency responsible for the expenditure of public funds. Newer public welfare legislation recognizes this. Public welfare agencies are authorized to accept, without court commitment, children who need care away from their own homes and to expend public money in their behalf. Such provisions should be in the public welfare legislation of every State. If need for action with regard to custody or guardianship arises in the case of a child cared for under such provisions, the agency can take the case into court for such action even while it continues to carry responsibility for providing care and service.

Intake related to function

If division of function between court and agency follows the line suggested, children would not be accepted by the court—using that term in the broad sense to include the probation office—solely for the purpose of giving them case-work service. The court would no longer carry cases unofficially, serving and supervising children over considerable periods of time without legal action ever being taken, as is frequently true now. We are not including here adjustments of minor problems and referrals to social agencies which are a part of the intake process. As the court, police and social agencies jointly develop policies of intake and working relationships and interpret their respective functions to the community, many of these cases would go immediately to the appropriate social agencies.

Changing attitudes toward protective services

Also affected would be what is called "protective work"—social services through which society expresses its concern for children who are abused or cruelly treated, neglected, or in moral danger. This is one of the oldest of

specialized services in behalf of children, having been initiated by the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in 1875. Early emphasis was upon law enforcement and the prosecution of the adults responsible for the ill-treatment or neglect of children.

With the passage of the years has come a greater understanding of the needs and behavior of individuals—both children and adults—and a greater mastery of the skills required to help individuals to change behavior. As a result emphasis has shifted from prosecution to use of the case-work approach—an approach which seeks both to protect the child and to help parents with their problems. Relatively few parents really want to harm or neglect their children. Despite their actions some may actually be deeply concerned about them. Others are unable to meet their responsibilities because of physical or mental incapacity or emotional disturbance and conflict. The use of case work lessens the need for authoritative action. It also makes less sharp the distinction between protective agencies and other child-caring agencies.

Certainly, every community should have a place to which those seeking protection for a child may go.

Any social agency, public or private, which has accepted a child or family for service has an obligation to take the steps necessary to protect the child, even if it means court action. Because of its broad responsibility for children. however, the public welfare agency has a major obligation to accept complaints about the neglect and abuse of children.

Here an understanding as to the differences between the responsibility of the court and agency is especially important. Although both court and public welfare agency have a legal base for their operation, the latter agency and the community must be clear as to the difference between its responsibility for inquiring into such situations and offering social services and the authority exercised by the court if children have to be removed or if parents have to be placed under court order or other action taken with respect to them.

Detention care as an administrative function

Division of judicial and administrative functions between the juvenile court and public welfare agency has implications for the allocation of responsibility for detention care. Here we are distinguishing between detention care pending action by the police or juvenile court and other types of temporary care. Sometimes, of course, children are referred to the juvenile court for temporary care merely because the court operates the detention facility. But in true detention care there is the element of restraint or protective custody and the ordering of it intervenes in parental rights.

In the past, detention care has been generally accepted as a function of the juvenile court. Undoubtedly, the decision to place a child in detention or to release him from this type of care is a matter for court action. But the management and operation of a detention facility, whether an institution or a

boarding-home program, are administrative functions and as such are appropriately performed by the public welfare agency. This point of view is beginning to be recognized. There is good ground for it.

Review of legislation relating to detention care reveals that, although provisions relating to such care generally appear in juvenile court laws, the actual responsibility for maintaining the facility usually is given to the local government, that is, to the county commissioners or corresponding officials. Specific responsibility given the court for detention care, other than for admission and release, generally concerns the appointment and supervision of staff. In some instances, however, the local governing body makes the appointment. In others, the responsibility of the juvenile court for administration is not clear.

Prior to the development of local public welfare agencies, town supervisors, township trustees, county commissioners, and similar bodies performed many functions related to the welfare of people including relief, care of the aged, needy, sick and the like. The local welfare agency, as the agent of local government, now performs many of these functions. It seems logical, therefore, that the public welfare agency administer the detention facility with the court retaining responsibility for admission and release. There should be close cooperation between the two.

Case-work service for children coming to court

Another area for which division of functions has major implications is the use of case-work skills in services to children who, after the application of the intake policies which we have discussed, properly come before the juvenile court. These services, generally called "probation services," include preliminary investigation to determine whether the child can safely remain in his own home pending further study and court action; if the court orders detention care, or if other temporary care is needed, arranging for it; social study of the child's situation for the aid of the judge in deciding what action to take; and, if the child is placed on probation or under supervision by the court, helping the child and his family to understand and face the situation and to take the steps necessary to arrive at a solution of the problem, or to modify or change the behavior or conditions which were responsible for bringing the child to the attention of the court.

State laws authorize appointment of probation staff for practically all juvenile courts, either to the staff of the court or to a separate probation department serving one or more courts in a specific area. A few States provide for service through a State agency. Others make the local public welfare agency responsible for furnishing service. Nevertheless, many juvenile courts are without probation service, or have inadequate service. This is especially true of the courts in rural areas. Often the number of cases in such courts is too small to require full-time service and it is difficult to employ professionally qualified staff on a part-time basis.

Child-welfare workers, generally attached to the local public welfare agency, have been giving service to the juvenile courts in many rural communities. They have been making social studies prior to court action. They have been doing case work with children placed on probation. This trend may be expected to continue. For the present, it will probably be chiefly in rural areas, although there is no fundamental reason why it could not occur in urban areas.

If the relationship is to be mutually satisfactory, sound principles and clear cut policies must govern. Some of these may be suggested now; many will have to be worked out through joint experimentation.

The judge of the juvenile court and administrator of the public welfare agency, to whose staff the child-welfare worker is attached, should take responsibility for agreeing upon the nature, extent, and amount of service to be made available, and the administrative arrangements under which it will be furnished. Once the obligation is assumed by the welfare agency, provisions should be made to discharge it through service adequate in quality and amount.

Some of the specific questions to be faced are: whether responsibility will be accepted by the agency for all cases coming to the court, and if not for which cases; whether full time or part time will be given; what the responsibilities and duties will be with respect to the intake of cases from the police and others and to detention care. Under what administrative arrangements services will be furnished and from whom the worker will receive technical supervision will have to be decided also. The way in which special problems can be met, for example, those relating to work with older adolescent boys will need to be considered. Other questions to be answered relate to the status of the worker and to the maintenance of case records. Should the worker be appointed as an officer of the court or retain identity as a children's worker from the public welfare agency? Should the social records kept by the worker be regarded as court or agency records and who should have access to them?

Clearly we do not have the answers to many of these questions. Some of these questions are also faced by probation departments organized independently of the courts. Others are similar to those faced by any case worker operating within the framework of an agency whose function is not primarily case work. Solutions to these problems present a challenge to both court and agency, to be met with mutual understanding, forbearance, and good will.

Obligations of Social Agencies

Differentiation between judicial and administrative functions imposes obligations upon social agencies generally. Too often emphasis is placed upon what the juvenile court should or should not do. A positive approach needs

to be taken with regard to the responsibility of the social agencies for understanding the powers and the limitations of the court; for defining clearly their own roles; and for receiving cases and affording services in the areas in which they have undertaken to operate. The juvenile court can only do its job with respect to both the needs of the child and the community as it has resources available to meet the needs of children who come before it.

Achievement of a well-rounded child-welfare program and the growth of the court and public-welfare agency within the framework described here must come gradually. Of course, objectives cannot be reached immediately or entirely. But if we see these goals clearly we can move steadily toward them.

No goal is every reached actually. It forever moves ahead. Can we look further into the future—to see goals beyond these immediate goals?

We can view the possibility of realizing the ideal of the family court—dealing with the family as a unit—by combining jurisdiction in all types of children's cases and in cases involving family relationships in a single court. This centralization of jurisdiction, especially if it was accompanied by an allocation of present treatment functions of the court to social agencies, has many potentialities. It would make possible still further development along socialized lines of the procedures which are an inherent part of the court process, but which the juvenile court has done much to modify and adapt in the light of its understanding and concern for children and families.

Still looking ahead to the future we can see the emergence of a broad concept of public responsibility for the well-being of all the people, and the acceptance by the public-welfare agency of responsibility for laying the groundwork of a sound system of community social services. In such a system, programs of economic aid to the needy and of child-welfare services would be essential and integral parts, but only parts. Social services would be available regardless of economic need, not only to children but to all others who needed them.

The words of James Russell Lowell seem to me to be particularly important for us, not just for the subject of this discussion but for all the problems that face us—

"New occasions teach new duties,
Time makes ancient good uncouth,
They must upward still, and onward,
Who would keep abreast of Truth."

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